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# Statement on EAST TIMOR to the UN Committee of 24

## August 1986

**Liem Soei Liong**

tapol
British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

**Statement on the question of East Timor**

**to the UN Committee of 24, August 1986**

**by**

**TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia**

Mr Chairman,

My name is Liem Soei Liong. I was born and grew up in Indonesia and I am now living in the Netherlands. I am grateful to the Committee of 24 for this opportunity to present the concerns of TAPOL, an organisation which has been campaigning since 1975 against the violent and persistent abuses perpetrated by the Indonesian forces of occupation in East Timor. TAPOL firmly supports East Timor's right to self-determination and urges the UN to take measures to ensure that the people of East Timor are allowed freely to exercise that right.

Last month, on 17th July, the Indonesian Government celebrated the tenth anniversary of its illegal and brutal annexation of East Timor in 1976. It was on that day ten years ago that General Suharto, the Indonesian president, signed the Bill of Integration. He thought that, by calling it 'integration', the world would be deceived into accepting Indonesia's illegal seizure of this territory as a legitimate act, carried out with the consent of the people.

'Integration' is a cover-up for invasion. After years of pretending that no invasion took place, the Indonesian government has now publicly admitted that its troops did invade East Timor. The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmaja, has recently declared - and I quote his words from the **Indonesian Observer**, 17 July 1986 - that

> "the idea of a leftist enclave at the eastern tip of the Nusa Tenggara archipelago which Jakarta was certain the Fretilin would establish, called for intervention. On December 7, 1975, the Indonesian Army landed at Dili. The guerrilla war that followed involved 30,000 soldiers. Thousands of lives were lost on both sides."

Mr Chairman,

Hardly any foreign visitors bothered to attend the tenth anniversary celebration in Dili, while foreign journalists were not even invited to attend. The lack of international interest helps explain President Suharto's decision not to attend either, but to send instead his Foreign Minister,

Mochtar Kusumaatmaja, and his acting Minister of the Interior, General Sudharmono. The other top-level figure who failed to appear was General Benny Murdani, commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and architect of the 1975 invasion. By staying away, General Murdani thought he could conceal the fact that East Timor is under military control. It reminds us of the way tanks, armoured cars and weapons of war are hidden from view whenever foreigners are escorted on trips through the territory.

Mr Chairman,

The Indonesian military government faces major problems at present, precipitated by the drastic fall in the price of oil, the mounting criticism of its inhumane transmigration programme, the persistent revelations of corruption by the Suharto family and cronies, and misgivings about Suharto's determination to remain in office for yet another 5-year term from 1988. But these issues should not distract attention from Indonesia's most heinous crime, its colonial war against the people of East Timor. Far from being true to the tradition of anti-colonialism inspiring many Third World countries, Indonesia has become a colonising power, bringing shame to the principles established in Bandung 31 years ago.

Mr Chairman,

The Indonesian government frequently condemns the excesses or neglect of Portuguese colonialism in East Timor. The tenth anniversary of annexation was again an occasion for Foreign Minister Mochtar to malign Portugal. But we should never forget that all the enslavement and oppression the East Timorese suffered during more than four centuries of Portuguese colonisation pales into insignificance as compared to the devastation and suffering inflicted during a decade of Indonesian colonisation and war.

Where Indonesian military control has been able to assert itself in East Timor, the hallmarks and features of a colonised territory are striking. In the cities of Dili and Baucau where most of the 50,000 Indonesians now in East Timor are to be found, a drastic transformation is taking place. They are becoming Javanese towns, inhabited primarily by Indonesian military personnel and bureaucrats, together with their families.

Mr Chairman,

There are two faces to the Indonesian colonial regime in East Timor. One is the public face, a cosmetic image to persuade the world that Indonesia has improved the welfare of the people and that it rules with their consent. This face is adorned with a civil administration, flushed with development funds from Jakarta, busily building roads, schools and

hospitals. The administration is run by an affable and well-educated East Timorese, Governor Mario Carrascalao who has assumed the habits and style of Indonesian bureaucrats in his dress, mannerisms and ideology. The other is the grim face of military domination, the reality of everyday life which the Timorese are forced to confront night and day. I would like to deal with these two faces of Indonesian colonialism in East Timor.

Mr Chairman,

Indonesia's "27th province" is a military project run by the Armed Forces. This is clear from the fact that the territory falls under the responsibility of a special, centralised military command, the **Komando Operasi Keamanan Timor Timur,** or Security Operations Command of East Timor, abbreviated to Kopskam Timor Timur. This special command is commanded by Brigadier-General Warsito who is concurrently commander of the First Infantry Division of KOSTRAD, the Army's Special Strategic Command. This is one of two divisions that make up KOSTRAD which, in the course of the re-organisation of the army that started in 1983, has at its disposal the complete range of military forces - infantry, tanks, strike-force troops, rapid-deployment forces, as well as a whole range of sea and air support. The commander of this KOSTRAD Division has been described as occupying "the most prestigious position" in the army, after the Army chief-of-staff. [**Sinar Harapan,** 3 October 1985]

The decision to create Kopskam Timor Timur is a measure of the importance the Indonesian Armed Forces attaches to the conduct of its continuing war against the people of East Timor. The combination of these two commander positions is not a coincidence. The previous commander of Kopskam Timor Timur, Major-General (then Brigadier-General) Soegito, also held the two posts concurrently, before he was appointed commander of the Jakarta Military Command in August last year.

While Kopskam Timor Timur is in charge of the conduct of the war, the territorial management of East Timor is the responsibility of KOREM 164 Wira Dharma, the Sub-Regional Military Command. Sub-regional military commands exist throughout Indonesia, and are subordinated to regional military commands which are known as Kodam. It is only in East Timor that there are two lines of command for the local Korem, up to KODAM Udayana in Bali and up to the war command in Jakarta.

It is estimated that between 10,000 and 15,000 troops are usually present in East Timor. The number of Korem 164 troops remains fairly constant, for they are engaged primarily in keeping order in the re-settlements, the pemukiman, where the vast majority of Timorese have been forced to live. It is the number of special troops, brought in as required

by the level of war activities, the season, and so on, that tends to vary from time to time.

There is a constant flow of army battalions replacing each other, from different parts of Indonesia, for operational duties. The most notorious of these operational troops are the red-beret, KOPASSUS para-commandos who intimidate and terrorise the people, launch special intelligence sweeps and have their own interrogation and detention centres. Kopassus troops are known to the East Timorese as 'nanggalas'. Whatever that term may mean in its orginal sanskrit, to the Timorese it means knife-wielding killers. Colonel Yunus Yosfiah, appointed last December as Korem 164 commander, is a red-beret nanggala who has served in East Timor, on and off, for many years.

There can be few Indonesian soldiers who have not seen active service in East Timor. It is here that Indonesian troops get their war practice. Many Indonesian officers have risen fast in rank over the corpses of the Timorese. Colonel Yunus Yosfiah recently boasted that his greatest achievement was to kill Nicolau Lobato, the president of Fretilin, in December 1978. He has publicly admitted that this greatly boosted his career.

Indeed, virtually all the new generation of officers now installed in the highest echelons of the Indonesian armed forces are East Timor war veterans, who won their battle honours fighting against the armed resistance in East Timor and the against defenceless East Timorese living under Indonesian rule.

Mr Chairman,

The centralised military structure of Kopskam Timur Timor explains why East Timor has been given "special status". The "27th province" is not administered as a province at all but is subject to methods of administration determined by the conduct of war operations and the current level of security "disorders". Naturally, men like Governor Carrascalao who have been chosen by Jakarta to run this make-believe "provincial" administration, are not at all happy about "special status". He recently called for an end to "special status" [see **Kompas**, 17 July 1986], complaining that it renders him powerless and without authority. Not surprisingly, the idea was quickly rebuffed by the government in Jakarta.

Mr Chairman,

You are certainly familiar with the network of resettlements or pemukiman, into which the majority of East Timorese have been herded, To the Timorese, they are nothing less than concentration camps. For your information, I have attached to my submission several documents produced by

TAPOL on conditions in these camps, including maps of camp locations recently received from the resistance in East Timor.

These pemukiman conform with the army's basic doctrine of territorial management, which requires people to live in communities that lend themselves to effective military and bureaucratic control, and denies them the right to preserve their traditional life-styles in mountainous, remote communities, or wherever else they wish to live. Resettlement is a feature of social control in many parts of Indonesia. In East Timor, it has been enforced in particularly vicious and brutal fashion, preceded by years of war that decimated the population and compelled mountain dwellers to abandon the interior, stricken by hunger and disease that resulted from Indonesian military operations in the 1970s. The rigid control over freedom of movement and travel in East Timor far exceeds anything anywhere in Indonesia. This is Indonesia's particular brand of apartheid, where the original inhabitants have been re-settled in areas of separate development.

Mr Chairman,

Let us turn for a moment to Governor Carrascalao's civil administration, While the "27th province" has a high-profile governor, it is in effect run by a bureaucracy composed of senior civil servants brought in from outside, mainly from Java. Since East Timor is classified as a "hardship" post, civil servants who get appointments in East Timor receive a 95 per cent bonus plus the incentive of a two-rung jump in grading.

The normal provincial structure down to village level is almost non-existent, as local administration and other social activities such as education, the information service, the offices of religion, and so on, are run largely by the army. At the provincial level, most economic and social programmes, in particular, the development activities now being undertaken to "upgrade" East Timor's economy, are in the hands of a bureacuracy controlled vertically by government departments in Jakarta.

Take for example, the agricultural service. The head of the East Timor office of the Department of Agriculture is Ir Hadiono, a Javanese with ambitious plans for a colonial-style development of East Timor as a plantation economy. He dreams of East Timor becoming a "cottage-garden" where 15 per cent of the land will be used to produce vegetables, 9 per cent for pasturing, 10 per cent for tree-crop plantations, 24 per cent for commercial forests, 10 per cent for irrigated rice and the remainder for urban development.

For these purposes, a number of 'desa potensial' or 'model villages' have been created, linked with irrigated rice projects and plantations, and inhabited primarily by settlers or transmigrants from Bali or Java, as well

as so-called "translocals", that is to say, Timorese from other parts of East Timor. Hadiono says that $300,000 will be invested in every village, each with a population of around one thousand people. According to official figures, one hundred of these villages should have been set up by 1986, with another 123 planned for 1986/87. These plans are way behind schedule, however, partly for lack of funds but primarily because so much of the territory is still not under Indonesian control.

But the military strategists are interested in molding a very different type of village, suited specifically to the requirements of territorial management. These are the desa pembangunan or 'development villages' which, in the words of Brigadier-General Warsito, will function as titik-titik kuat perlawanan rakyat or 'fortresses of people's resistance'. The term perlawanan rakyat (people's resistance) is integral to the army's doctrine of Hankamrata or 'total people's defence and security'. This means mobilising villagers to fight against anyone who opposes the government or resists Indonesian rule.

Under the Hankamrata strategy, the army guides and leads the population in all aspects of life. The war situation in East Timor necessitates the application of this doctrine in its most extreme form. With resistance still so widespread in East Timor, General Warsito's 'development villages' are bound to received much greater emphasis than Hadiono's 'model villages'.

In implementation of the Warsito strategy, Korem commander, Colonel Yunus has ordered all district military commanders down to village level to set up 'model gardens' to "teach" the Timorese how to cultivate the soil. Such a preposterous concept only exposes the arrogance of Indonesian contempt for Timorese peasants who for centuries sustained a viable, subsistence economy. Colonel Yunus says that five hundred military-run 'model gardens' have already been created "to help improve the living conditions of the people". This strategy reveals on the one hand an attempt by the occupation forces to impose greater control over productive activities in the concentration camps, while indicating that food shortages are indeed serious. Colonel Yunus claims that these 'model gardens' will improve living conditions and induce people to "resist the temptation" of supporting resistance to Indonesian rule. In other words, the 'development village' strategy is aimed at alienating the people from the guerrilla movement.

Another objective of the Hankamrata strategy is to incite Timorese to spy on and eliminate their own relatives. Indonesian journalists who recently visited East Timor, reported Brigadier-General Warsito as being confident that security prospects are now excellent. Why? Because Timorese are ready to murder their closest kin on Indonesia's behalf. He told

journalists about a Timorese woman who, he claims, killed her husband when she discovered that he supported Fretilin, and described an incident in which a man shot his younger brother dead after failing to persuade him to abandon the guerrillas. To find comparable examples of politically-motivated fratricide, one would need to go back to the experiences of the German people during the Hitler era.

Mr Chairman,

My final testimony concerns one of the ugliest features of Indonesian colonialism, its racism and its contempt for all aspects of Timorese culture. Timorese farming traditions are consistently disparaged as being backward and in need of "improvement" by the adoption of Javanese farming methods. In pursuit of the obliteration of Timor's 'inferior' culture and languages, Bahasa Indonesia has been made compulsory in schools and offices, while native languages like Tetum, Macasaina, Mambai or Tokodede are being marginalised and eliminated, wherever Indonesians can impose their control over Timorese communities. The superiority of the Indonesian language has been one of the main themes of the tenth anniversary 'celebrations'. "By mastering the Indonesian language," wrote one Jakarta daily on 17 July, "they (the East Timorese) have been ushered into a new world that enables them to experience some meaningful change in the quality of their lives." The Portuguese colonialists, in their day, could hardly have formulated more clearly the standard colonial belief in the superiority of their own language and culture.

Mr Chairman,

It is the duty of international bodies like the United Nations to denounce all forms of colonialism in this modern era, and in this particular case, to denounce Indonesian colonialism in East Timor. It is the task of the international community to demand the withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor, opening the way for the Maubere people freely to decide their own future in a genuine act of self-determination, supervised by the United Nations.

Thank you for your attention.

New York, 15 August 1986

# APPENDICES

I. Los Palos

II. Concentration camps in East Timor. Reproduced from **TAPOL Bulletin**, No 76, July 1986.

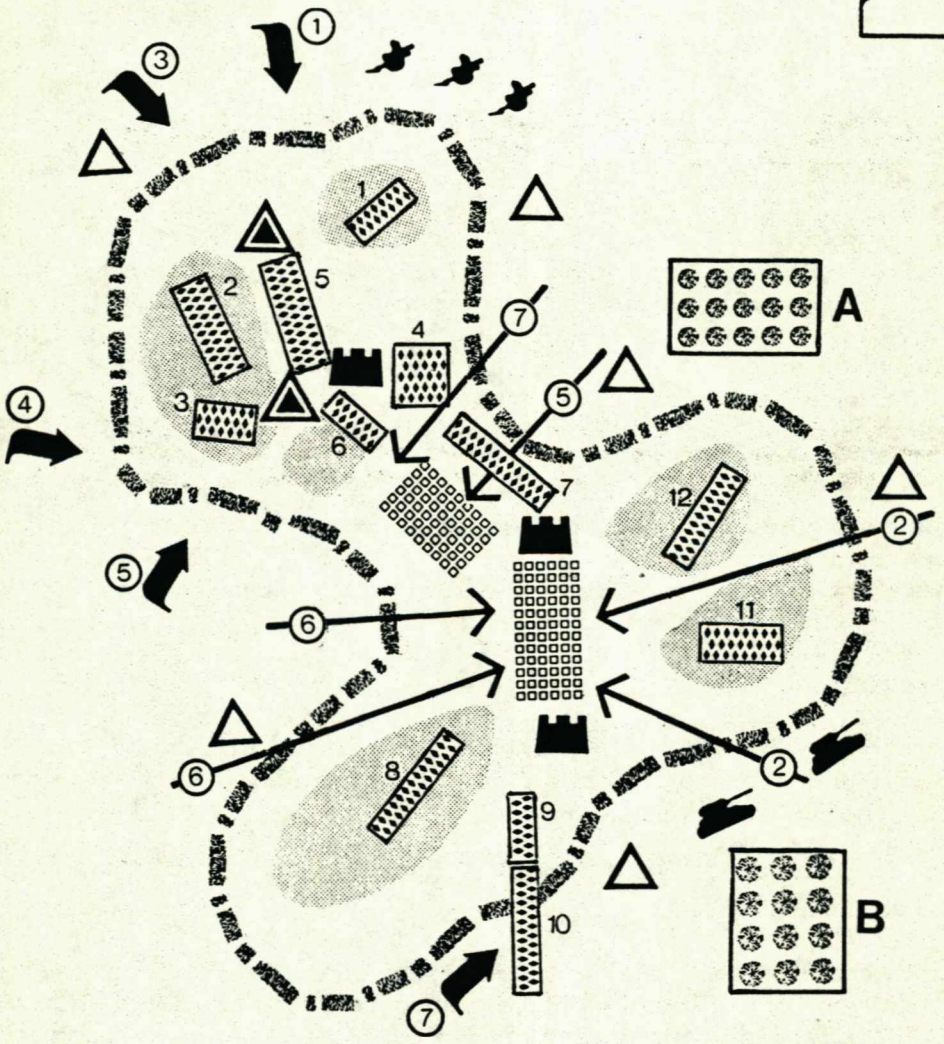
III. Report about concentration camps. Reproduced from **TAPOL Bulletin**, No 68, March 1985.

IV. Description of many concentration camps. Reproduced from **TAPOL Bulletin**, No 70, July 1985.

I

# LOSPALOS

Section of a military map sent abroad by Fretilin. The original is an Indonesian map captured on 20 December 1985 at Hirino Alapupulo. The details were added by Fretilin. [The map was received in Lisbon in late June 1986.]




Map: Liem Soei Liong

## LEGEND

- Battalion positions.
- Army posts, company strength.
- Army posts, platoon strength.
- Camps, numbered 1 to 12. (See explanation.)
- Agricultural sites surrounding concentration camps.
- Inner part of Lospalos.
- **A** Sugar plantation run by District Military Command (Kodim).
- **B** Vegetable garden run by Txai Para military post.
- Fretilin actions against inner Lospalos. (See explanation.)
- Fretilin actions against camps. (See explanation.)
- Artillery positions.
- Tank positions.

## Detailed information from Fretilin about concentration camps and military actions in and around Lospalos

On 20 December 1985, Fretilin guerrillas captured an Indonesian military map during an ambush in Hirino Alapupulo. This was a map issued by the *Jawatan Topografi TNI-AD* (Topographical Department of the Indonesian Army) which had been issued by Army Headquarters in Jakarta on 29 October 1984 for use by the commander of the Udayana Regional Military Command based in Bali. This is the Command under which the East Timor Sub-Regional Military Command falls. The map bears the code identification, *Izin Pengeluaran DPPT/149/ASD/X/84* (Issue Permit DPPT/149/ASD/X/84).

The map is much larger than maps previously captured by Fretilin. It is 110 cm by 120 cm and covers only the eastern region of East Timor, from Iliomar in the west to Mehara on the most easterly tip. Fretilin commander, Xanana Gusmao added a great deal of detail showing the position of Indonesian troops and the location of concentration camps. He also showed the location of a number of Fretilin actions in the area from August 1983 until December 1985, including ambushes of enemy convoys, attacks on military positions and attacks on concentration camps. The map as amended by Xanana was sent to the Fretilin External Committee and reached Lisbon in June 1986.

It has not yet been possible to photocopy the map because of its size, but after having had a chance to study some of the details, TAPOL decided to reproduce some sections in forthcoming issues of **TAPOL Bulletin**. The first section we are reproducing here is the town and environs of Lospalos which is an important area of Indonesian military and economic activity. Lospalos is the capital of Lautem district and is also the location of a number of concentration camps.

Battalions 327, 312 and 417 are stationed around Lospalos, as well as a marine unit and a unit of the notorious para-commando troops, the red-berets known to the Timorese as 'nanggala' troops. [This is a sanskrit word, but is used by the Timorese to mean 'knife-carrying killers'.] Battalion 745 is stationed in the centre of the town, and is at present accommodated in the former Portuguese military barracks.

There are altogether eight concentration camps in the area (see next page for details). The inhabitants of these camps come from various parts of East Timor, The Lospalos region is regarded as an important 'economic growth' centre by the Indonesian military. In addition to restricted agricultural sites around the camps for use by the camp inhabitants, the Lospalos military command runs a sugar plantation while the army post at Txai Para runs a vegetable garden on land unlawfully confiscated from an East Timorese Chinese vegetable grower.

An eight-metre wide, asphalted road, 50 kilometres long, has recently been built by army engineers, to provide an outlet for sugar and other cash crops that are being produced for export. A controversy appears to have arisen between the military who want to transform the vicinity into a well-organised cottage garden, with a sugar factory as well as the plantation, and Governor Carrascalao who does not believe that the factory will be profitable and wants the region to continue as in Portuguese times, when it was a centre for cattle-raising. A hydro-electric plant is also under construction, or may already have been completed.

Although Xanana's additions to the maps identify guerrilla actions, he does not give information about the number of casualties on either side, or say whether Fretilin captured any weapons. However, a report from foreign news agencies earlier this year spoke of an action in November 1985 when Fretilin forces ambushed and killed 15 Indonesian soldiers in the Lospalos area. A press release by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA), issued on 24 July 1986, refers to Lospalos as a region where constant clashes have occurred between Fretilin guerrillas and the Indonesian military for many years.

## The concentration camps
[Numbered as in map]

1. Kartini I concentration camp, which accommodates the population of Tei Moto and Titilari. The entrance is guarded by a 'nanggala' control post.

2. Concentration camp for the populations of Txenu Lore, Lari Natxa, Rei Soru, Lilapuhu and Setiara.

3. Lau Sepu concentration camp.

4. Motolori II concentration camp for the population of Txau Luturo.

5. Zink-roofed houses for the families of Battalion 745 soldiers. These are located next to the former Portuguese barracks.

6. Concentration camp for the Lospalos population.

8. Concentration camp of the Kakavei suco, for the populations of Maluro, Vatalata, Pai Ira, Kakavei, Vanirlo and Hirino.

9. Kartini II concentration camp for the populations of Luro, Nua Lata and Txai Vatxa. There is also a 'nanggala' post here, as it is situated at the southern entrance to Lospalos.

10. Camp for the families of members of Hansip [civil guard composed of Timorese conscripts].

11. Concentration camp for the population of Lere Loho.

12. Concentration camp for the population of Irara.

## Fretilin guerrilla attacks
[Numbered as in map]

1. Guerrilla attack from the north against Kartini I camp and its 'nanggala' control post, in December 1983.

2. An attack on the centre of Lospalos town from two directions, on 31 December 1983.

3. An attack from the north in February 1984, directed against the enemy post guarding the concentration camps.

4. An attack in April 1984 against guarded concentration camps, this time from the west.

5. In June 1984, guerrillas attacked twice, once from the north against the centre of Lospalos, and once from the west against the northern sector of Lospalos.

6. In July 1984, there was a two-pronged attack from the west against the centre of Lospalos.

7. There were two attacks in September 1984, one in the south where Hansip troops are accommodated. The other, on 12 September, came from the north and was directed against the town centre.

## A Fretilin map of Indonesian territorial control and camps

A map prepared by Fretilin in March this year gives details of Indonesia's territorial control and identifies 77 concentration camps. The map was drawn by Xanana Gusmao, commander-in-chief of Fretilin's armed wing, Falintil.

The area in white is mostly under Fretilin control, except for the roads and camps which are under Indonesian military control. Timorese villagers are concentrated in the numbered camps. They are known to the Timorese as 'concentration camps'. The larger blobs indicate groups of camps along the roads and in agricultural production sites; the smaller dots indicate camps that are situated far from the production sites.

**Autonomous guerrilla units in the west**

The map shows that in the western sector, Indonesian control is virtually complete, except for the presence of three autonomous guerrilla units. These units do not fall under the Falintil structure but are under the direct command of Xanana. They consist mostly of Timorese who have defected from the Indonesian side in the past four years or so. Most received basic military training in the Indonesian army or police force during the early 1980s, when Indonesia tried out a policy of 'Timorisation' of the war.

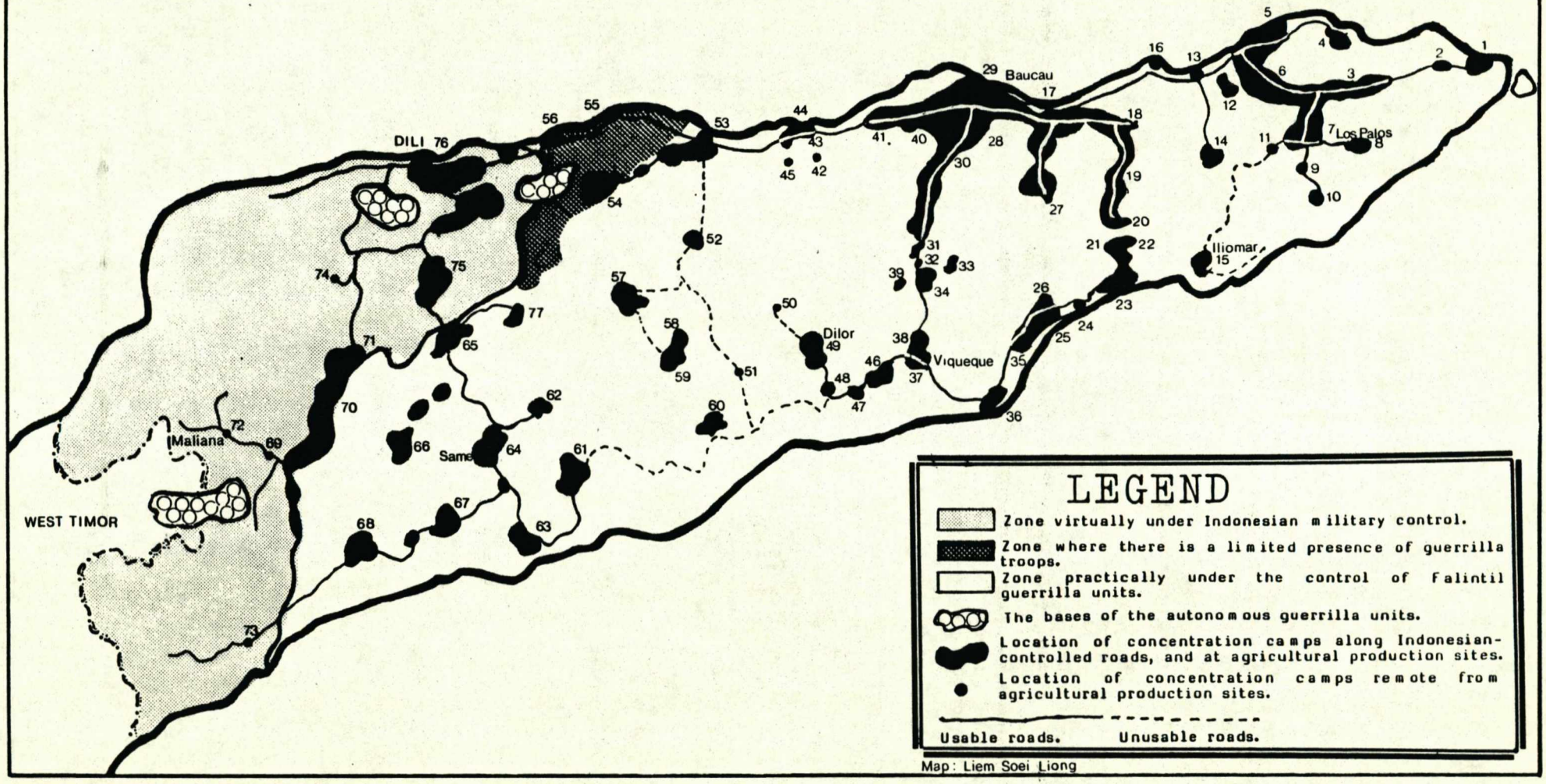
In late 1983, after the breakdown of the March-August 1983 ceasefire, a large number of Timorese conscripts in these units defected, taking their arms, and joined Fretilin in the bush. Many of these are now with the autonomous units operating in the western sector.

The following are the names of the camps shown on the map:

1. Tutuala
2. Mehara/Porlamano
3. Pores/Assalaino track
4. Com
5. Lautem
6. Raga - Lautem track
7. Lospalos
8. Muapitine
9. Ililapa
10. Maluro
11. Leuro
12. Laleno
13. Tutumboro
14. Luro
15. Iliomar
16. Laivai
17. Laga
18. Saelari
19. Atelari
20. Baguia
21. Uatu Karabau, old post
22. Loi Ulo
23. New post
24. Kapuas Camp
25. Aliambata
26. Uatulari
27. Kelikai
28. Fatumaka/Seical track from Fatumaka
29. Baucau
30. Berecoli
31. Venilale
32. .... camp, south of the River Assalaitula
33. Nahareka & Uaibobo camps
34 Ossu
35. Track from Meabuti to Lugasa
36. Beaco
37. Viqueque
38 Bua Nura
39. Liaruka camp/Bubuana
40. Loilubo/Ostico track
41. Bucoli/Ualakama
42. Uai-ra camp
43. Kairabela/Vemasse
44. Laleia
45. Cairui
46. Kaju laran Klalerek Mutin Bikarin
47. Luca
48. Bubur Lico
49. Dilor
50. Lacluta (vacant)
51. Barike (only Indonesian Army)
52. Kribas
53. Manatuto
54 Laclo
55. Bettau (Ilimanu)
56. Maliana(?)
57. Laclubar
58. Soibada
59. Mane Hat
60. Natar Bora
61. Fatu Berliu
62. Alas
63. Betano track
64. Same
65. Maubisse
66. Ainaro
67. Hudo
68. Mape
69. Bobonaro
70. Atsabe
71. Letefoho
72. Maliana
73. Suai
74. Ermera
75. Aileu
76. Vicinity of Dili
77. Maulau

# EAST TIMOR territorial control

Reproduction of FALINTIL map
East Timor, 10 Jan. 1986




Map: Liem Soei Liong

# Fretilin's map of Indonesian concentration camps

In the last Bulletin, we reproduced a map of East Timor combining information contained in two maps smuggled out by Fretilin, one from the Indonesian army showing guerrilla positions, and one by Fretilin showing Indonesian military positions. The second Fretilin map received at that time, which we reproduce opposite, gives details of Indonesia's territorial control. The map was drawn by Xanana Gusmao, commander-in-chief of the armed resistance movement, Falintil.

**Autonomous units in the west**

It shows that in the western sector, Indonesian control is virtually complete, except for the presence of three autonomous guerrilla units. These units do not fall under the Falintil structure but are under the direct command of Xanana. They consist mostly of Timorese who have defected from the Indonesian side in the past four years or so. Most received basic military training in the Indonesian army or police force during the early 1980s, when Indonesia tried out a policy of 'Timorisation' of the war. They served in one or other of the para-military forces used by the Indonesian high command, *Hansip, Wanra, Kamra or TBO*. [See Budiardjo and Liem, **The War against East Timor**, Zed Books, 1984 for an analysis of this policy.]

Details about these para-military forces is contained in an Indonesian military document smuggled out of East Timor in June this year. This 'Operational Instruction' issued in 1982 was captured by Fretilin on 28 August 1983. It describes the use the army was making at the time, of Timorese conscripts and provides the best insight yet of how these para-military units function.

**Hansip** [*Pertahanan Sipil* or Civil Defence] are used to protect and guard villages. Whereas in Indonesia, Hansips are generally nothing more than night-watchmen, in East Timor, Hansip troops are required to take part in military operations, in pursuit of guerrilla units.

**Wanra** [*Perlawanan Rakyat* or People's Resistance] are units directly under the command of the regional military command known as *Korem*.

**Kamra** [*Keamanan Rakyat* or People's Security] are units under the command of the police force.

**TBO** [*Tenaga Bantuan Operasi* or Auxiliary Operational Forces] are Timorese who accompany Indonesian troops while out on operations, with no operational function but to assist as bearers and carriers for the troops.

In late 1983, after the breakdown of the March-August 1983 ceasefire, a large number of Timorese conscripts in these units defected, taking their arms, and joined Fretilin in the bush. Many of these are now with the autonomous units operating in the western sector.

The triangle-shaped, shaded zone, running along the north coast several kilometres to the east of Dili, is under Indonesian control, with a limited presence of guerrilla forces.

**Fretilin-controlled areas and the concentration camps**

The area shown in white is virtually under Fretilin control, except for the roads (or tracks) and camps which are under Indonesian military control. Timorese villagers are concentrated in the camps numbered in Xanana's map from 1 - 77. They are known to the Timorese as 'concentration camps'. [For the names, see list.]

The larger black blobs indicate the location of a group of camps situated along the roads and in agricultural production sites; the smaller dots indicate camps that are situated far from the production sites.

The Portuguese term used by Xanana for the roads or tracks linking some of the camps is *linha* which is best translated as 'track' rather than road.

**Concentration camps**

1. Tutuala
2. Mehara/Porlamano
3. Pores/Assalaino track
4. Com
5. Lautem
6. Raga - Lautem track
7. Lospalos
8. Muapitine
9. Ililapa
10. Maluro
11. Leuro
12. Laleno
13. Tutumboro
14. Luro
15. Iliomar
16. Laivai
17. Laga
18. Saelari
19. Atelari
20. Baguia
21. Uatu Karabau, old post
22. Loi Ulo
23. New post
24. Kapuas Camp
25. Aliambata
26. Uatulari
27. Kelikai
28. Fatumaka/Seical track from Fatumaka
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37. Viqueque
38. Bua Nura
39. Liaruka camp/Bubuana
40. Loilubo/Ostico track
41. Bucoli/Ualakama
42. Uai-ra camp
43. Kairabela/Vemasse
44. Laleia
45. Cairui
46. Kaju laran Klalerek Mutin Bikarin
47. Luca
48. Bubur Lico
49. Dilor
50. Lacluta (vacant)
51. Barike (only Indonesian Army)
52. Kribas
53. Manatuto
54. Laclo
55. Bettau (Ilimanu)
56. Maliana(?)
57. Laclubar
58. Soibada
59. Mane Hat
60. Natar Bora
61. Fatu Berliu
62. Alas
63. Betano track
64. Same
65. Maubisse
66. Ainaro
67. Hudo
68. Mape
69. Bobonaro
70. Atsabe
71. Letefoho
72. Maliana
73. Suai
74. Ermera
75. Aileu
76. Vicinity of Dili
77. Maulau

## Fourth map sent out by Fretilin

The 77 camps shown in the present map are by no means the complete story. Yet another map which reached Lisbon last month gives far greater details of camp locations in certain regions. The map is very large (1.10 by 1.20 cms as compared with the previous maps which were only A4 size). It covers only the eastern tip of East Timor.

In its original form, as captured from the Indonesians on 20 December 1985, it was a map of the Topographical Department of the Indonesian army, presumably used for operational purposes, showing only geographical features. Before sending it out, Fretilin added a great amount of detail, showing for instance operations launched by the guerrillas since the breakdown of the ceasefire. Camp locations are also shown in great detail. There are, for instance, a number of camps in and around Lospalos.

We plan to reproduce sections of the map in forthcoming issues of the Bulletin.

III

# LAUTEM REGION

**Lore I and Lore II**

Lore is the region south of Lospalos; the town of Lores is situated on the south coast. Conditions in the camps set up since 1978 have been notoriously bad because so little land is available to grow food. People resettled here have survived mainly from foraging for coconuts and wild plants.[1]

The population in the region has now been 'regrouped' into two strategic villages or "concentration camps" as the Timorese call them. One camp located at Maluro is now known as Lore I, 18kms along the Lospalos-Lore road, and the other located at Ili-lapa is known as Lore II, along the same road, only 3kms from Lospalos. The food situation in 1984 had not improved with the population depending mainly on coconuts. Inhabitants who go more than ½km from the camp risk being shot.

Falintil guerrillas have been active in the region since the breakdown of the ceasefire in August 1983, and the inhabitants of the two camps have been subjected to constant harassment. The first reported arrests, occurred on 5th and 9th September 1983 when first **Ernestina Pereira,** 23, and **Emelda Candida,** 24, both natives of Txai but now living in Lore II, were arrested by the Koramil because their husands were with the resistance, and tortured without pity. Then, **Alcina da Costa,** 29, was arrested for the same reason. On 11 September, **Teresa Bernadino,** 38, and **Vasa Reine,** 34, were arrested because their sons were with the resistance. On 25 September, a student named **Lina Morais,** also now at Lore II, was summoned by Kodim in Lospalos. Accused of sending supplies to Falintil and of having a sister with the resistance, she was brutally beaten.

On 4 November, troops from Battalion 641 located in Pua Soro, 1½km from Lore I, shelled the camp with mortars killing nine people. This was a reprisal for Fretilin activity in the area; camp inhabitants were suspected of being Fretilin sympathisers.

On 12 November, a Lore II inhabitant, **Jaime Castelo,** 23, who was working as a mechanic for Lospalos kodim was arrested by Nanggala 4 troops[2]. He was subjected to torture by electric shock for three months, to get him to expose others. He was then handed over to Battalion 641 and murdered in Ili-lapa, 3kms from Lospalos on 6 February 1984.

On 8 August 1983, **Cecilia Bernadino Moniz**, 22, a native of Vai Lana, now in Lore I, fled with her husband to join the resistance. She was captured in an ambush on 13 November and handed over to kodim, Lospalos where she was tortured with electric shock and raped every night. Then on 17 November, **Armando Castanheira,** 28, described as a "guru" (a teacher at an Indonesian school) was arrested, tortured, then killed as a suspect.

The next reported victims were also people working for the Indonesians. **Duarte dos Santos,** 33, a ratih (trained people's resistance member) now in Lore I, was arrested by Battalion 641 troops, and on 6 April, **Antonio Laranjinha,** 29, an "RT" (head of local residents' association) was arrested by nanggalas, badly beaten, tortured with electricity, then handed over to kodim in Lospalos. The same thing happened two days later to **Alvaro Duarte de Almeida,** 22. A week later, on 16 April, **Tome da Cota,** 43, was arrested at Lore II and beaten up by nanggalas, accused of helping two women escape from the camp to join the resistance the day before. They fled after having been intimidated by troops. The same afternoon, **Daniel Goncalves,** 12, and **Silvina da Cruz,** 22, now in Lore II, were arrested and threatened with weapons because their parents were with the resistance.

* * *

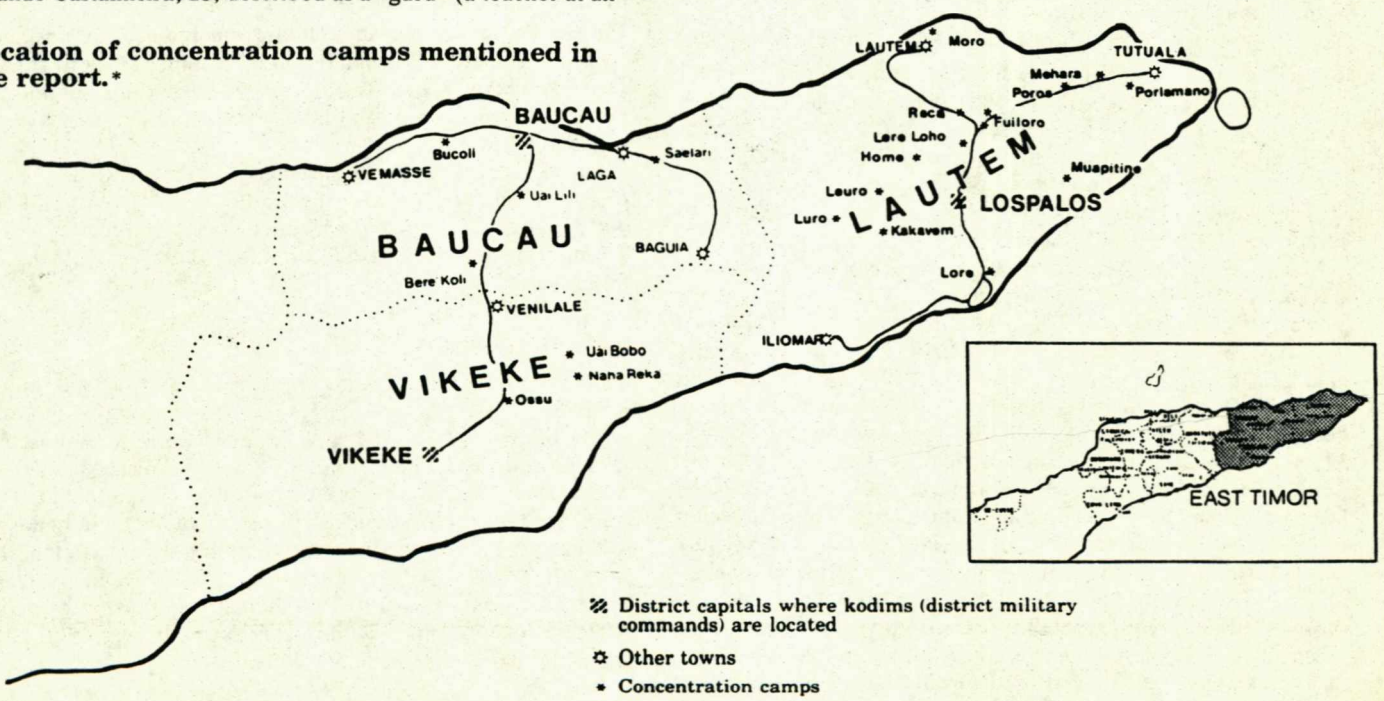
**Home**

Located 2kms west of Lospalos on the Lospalos-Kakavei road, Home is a former suco (low-level Portuguese administrative unit) and now a concentration camp. Here too food is very short. The inhabitants are not allowed to leave the camps to plant anything, and also rely on coconuts in nearby fields.

All the reported arrests are of people holding positions under the Indonesian military or administrative system. On 28 August 1983, **Paulo Marques,** 24, member of hansip was arrested as he returned from Lospalos, just outside the camp. After the soldiers turned out his bag and pockets, they shot him dead on the spot. In September, four men were arrested in the same camp, suspected of Fretilin sympathies. They were taken to Lospalos kodim and barbarously tortured, with electricity, blows in the face, slashes all over their bodies, then imprisoned in Lospalos Prison 1, known as "the prison of death". The four men were: **Angelo Monteiro,** 35, a ratih member, **Pedro Mariano,** 37, a kampung head, **Julio dos Santos,** 34, a "jurituh" (jurutulis, or office clerk). Three weeks later, four more hansip and ratih members were arrested, all from Home, and taken to Lospalos kodim as 'suspects'. Their names are **Nicolau Goncalves,** 22, **Faustino da Costa,** 22, **Eugenio Goncalves,** 20, and **Marcos da Costa.** After prolonged torture, Nicolau Goncalves was detained in Lospalos Prison 1, and the other three in Lospalos Prison 2.

Then on 26 January 1984, Lospalos kodim ordered the arrest

**Location of concentration camps mentioned in the report.***




*Some place names were not marked on available maps.

of **Roberto dos Santos**, 36, kampung deputy-head. He was tortured with elecric shock on his genitals and heavily beaten because his daughter joined the resistance after having been persecuted by local troops.

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**Kakavei (Kakavem?)**

This is a suco in the Lospalos region, 15kms west of the town on the Lospalos-Kakavei-Iliomar road. Since 1979, the inhabitants of this suco have been concentrated in camps located in the countryside around Lospalos. Although our map does not identify Kakavei, this would appear to be somewhere south of Leuro and Souro where, according to earlier information,[3] camp inhabitants have frequently been ordered to leave their settlements without immediately being provided with alternative sites, and having to live in the open air. In 1983, such upheavals left the population without any food supplies, living only on wild coconuts and leaves.

On 18 October 17 people were arrested and taken to Lospalos kodim where they were all tortured. Some lost teeth, were subjected to electric shock, mostly on their sex organs, and were given only ten spoonfuls of food a day to force them to denounce others. Their names are: **Vato Lay,** 38, kampung head, from Txarano, **Orlando Fernandes,** 28, ratih member, **Filipe Fernandes,** 25, secretary, **Asu Lalo,** 34, **Txai Txipi,** 29, **Pedro Fernandes,** 36, ratih member. **Antonio Oliveira,** 27, ratih member, **Susu Kasa,** 35, all of them natives of Txarano; **Lai Katy,** 56, kampung head from Paihira, **Jose da Costa,** 33, guard commander, **Soro Txai,** 35, all from Paihira, Kakavei; **Januario Monteiro,** 35, and **Acacio da Costa,** 22, both ratih members attached to the kodim, and **Poko Tau,** 46, of Solepara; and **Telo Lara,** 53, and **Fernando Mao Meta,** 35, both from Lai Ara, Kakavei.

On 24 November 1983, another ratih member, **Lourenco Fernandes,** 27, was arrested, taken to kodim and tortured, suspected of being a Fretilin sympathiser.

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**Leuro**

This camp is located 5kms west of Lospalos, also in the heart of a region where camp inhabitants suffer severe food deprivation and cannot go more than ½km beyond camp boundaries. On 8 August 1983, 10 ratih members fled with their arms to join the guerrillas. The immediate impact of this is not described but on 27 and 28 November, many people, most with official positions in the administration, were arrested on suspicion of helping these ratihs to escape. They include **Armindo da Silva,** 46, deputy raja, a native of Leuro, **Jose,** 34, and **Antonio,** 28, both RT chiefs, and **Salvador,** 20, all from Soru, and **Lourenco Monteiro** from Leuro. Also **Sebastiao Viegas,** 24, who worked at the Lospalos district office. They were all taken to the Lospalos kodim and brutally tortured because they refused to denounce others. Another man suspected of helping the ten ratihs to escape was **Raimundo da Costa,** 30, a kampung head.

Many more arrests occurred in December: **Verisa,** 48, **Lavanisa,** 49, **Leti Vata, 37, Lamberto,** 32, kampung head, **Luis Sousa,** 44, **Ze Txaranu,** 43, all from Suro; **Jose Moita,** RT chief, 30, **Ivao Castro,** 47, **Jose Lepe Moko,** 43, **Ze Leve,** 42, deputy kampung head, **Ernesto,** 29, kampung head, all natives from Luturula; **Duarte,** 38, **Oscar Lopes,** 29, RT, **Orlando,** kampung head, 30, **Ze Vatau,** 45, RT, **Kon Lua,** 38, **Joaquim,** 35, **Mateus,** 32, and **Mau Moto,** 49, kampung head and deputy, all from Leuro; **Tito,** 29, **Kei Loy,** 28, **Rosaline,** 26, **Kei Vara,** 18, **Rano Lavano,** 26, **Pua Fainu,** 29, and **Ka Punu,** 27. All were subjected to extreme torture, but worst of all, **Ze Txarano** and **Kei Loy** whose sufferings caused them to urinate as the torturers mocked them. **Luis da Sousa** was so badly beaten, kicked, punched and slashed, that he frequently fell to the ground.

On 30 December, another four people were arrested, and taken to kodim where they were tortured: **Ze Reci,** 35, **Chico,** 29, **Lua Moko,** 48, and his wife **Lua Lau,** all from Leuro.

On 10 March, **Sergio,** 18, and **Amelio,** 17, both of them ratihs, were arrested by soldiers from Battalion 315 stationed in Foe Ma. After two days of brutal torture, they made their escape and joined the guerrillas. Two days later, as reprisal, the battalion commander Pordon, ordered more arrests: **Jose Moita,** 32, **Mouzinho,** 45, both of them RTs, **Emilia,** 24, **Maria** and **Pua Moto,** both 15, all of them from Lutu Ruka, and **Duarte,** 35, from Txarano, Leuro. Major Pordon ordered them all to strip naked every day and kneel on the ground covered with sharp stones from 9am till 4pm. All this happened in public, to the amusement of battalion soldiers.

**Lere Loho**

This camp is situated near the mission-station of Fui-loro which lies north east of Lospalos. On 30 October, 1983, **Jaime,** 24, a mechanic was arrested by nanggala 4 soldiers, taken to kodim and brutally tortured for two days to force him to denounce others.

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**Poros**

This camp is located at the former location of the Loiquero suco, in the vicinity of Tutuala, on the eastern tip of East Timor. It lies on the Tutuala-Lospalos road, about 12kms out of Tutuala. Already in 1983, the region was described as one where conditions were appalling, with little land available to produce food, and the people relying mainly on cassava and fishing. At the end of 1984, food conditions had deteriorated; no corn at all had been harvested because planting was not allowed. Nor could the inhabitants go fishing any more because of the tighter restrictions on movement.

Most of the people who were arrested were killed or have disappeared. In October 1983, **Franscisco Lopes,** 29, **Cristovao Lopes,** 30, **Constantino da Costa,** 29, a *jurituh*, and **Damiao Lopes**, 24, a hansip member, **Loureiro**, 28, **Alvaro dos Santos**, 31, and **Antonio Soares**, 19, a student, were arrested by members of Battalion 100, and sent to kodim, in Lospalos. All were severely tortured before disappearing.

The next month, **Cristina do Ceu,** 18, **Raimundo da Costa,** 13, and **Lourenco dos Santos,** 29, all from Poros, were arrested by members of Battalion 521 and taken to kodim where they were beaten up. All are now in prison. Later that month, five more men from Poros, **Karasu Malay,** 50, **Francisco Cristovao,** 30, **Frederico,** 32, and **Gilberto,** 28, as well as **Manuel de Jesus,** 34, kampung head, were murdered by soldiers of Battalion 745 in the presence of the entire local population, "as an example."

Six others were arrested by koramil on 17 December, and disappeared less than a month later, on 11 January. They were: **Mateus Pedro,** 23, hansip section commander, **Raul dos Santos,** hansip member, **Amancio,** 18, and **Joaquim,** 17, both students, with **Olinda** and **Ermelinda,** also 22. All were submitted to electric torture on genitals and other parts of the body by kodim officers before disappearing.

On 25 December, three more people were arrested, all natives of Poros. They were taken by Battalion 641 troops to kodim, where they were tortured with their hands and feet bound. On 7 January, they were handed over to Battalion 321 and then disappeared.

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**Porlamano, Tutuala**

This camp is situated 5kms from Tutuala, near the Tutuala-Lospalos road.

On 14 November 1983, two women, **Elisa do Santos,** 20, a student and **Ercilia de Carvalho,** 18, were arrested by members of Battalion 100 and taken to the battalion base in Mehara. They were both tortured. Benches were stood on their hands and soldiers sat on the benches, tormenting the two women. They were then raped by the soldiers. On 25 November, **Gaspar Nunes,** 37, was arrested by Battalion 100 and taken to Mehara. After persistent torture, with electricity and lit cigarettes, he was taken to Silary, 1km away and killed.

* * * *

**Mehara, Tutuala**

Mehara camp lies 6 kms west of Tutualu, on the road to

Lospalos. Already in 1983, conditions were atrocious, mainly because inhabitants were not permitted to go more than 500 metres beyond the camp boundary, cutting them off from arable land which used to be used for rice-growing.[4]

On 14 November 1983, **Angelina** and **Helena do Ceu,** 22 and 30, of Mehara, were arrested by Battalion 100. They were stripped naked for interrogation, beaten up with rifle-butts, then raped. The next day, **Mateus Gonzaga,** 38, was arrested by Battalion 100. With hands and feet bound, he was tortured with cigarettes then shot dead in Silary. Two oher men were also summarily executed in Silary after being arrested on 25 November by Battalion 100. They had first been burnt with cigarettes then left to lie in the blazing sun.

Many people in Mehara and Porlamano were particularly harshly treated in late November 1983 after guerrillas had destroyed an Indonesian vehicle on 6 November, capturing 15 weapons. Two weeks later, on 20 November they attacked a unit of nanggala troops, killing seven men. In retaliation, the nanggalas captured 200 people, among them old men and women, as well as children, and cooped them up in two school buildings in Mehara. All the people arrested were relatives of people who rejoined the resistance in August 1983. In addition to a great deal of torture, these prisoners were not allowed to go more than 5 metres from the buildings. No latrines were available, and the prisoners had no option but to relieve themselves in public. After being held in these buildings for some time a number of these prisoners disappeared.

Meanwhile, Miguel dos Santos, in his letter to Mgr da Costa Lopes, draws attention to places in the eastern sector where conditions are particularly bad. He writes:

> We ask you tell delegations which come to East Timor to travel by car through the districts and *postes*, particularly to the *poste* of Tutuala and see if they come back saying, "East Timor enjoys peace and progress". Let them take a look at the state of things in the villages of Pitileti, Iroro, Vero, Tobailoro, Porlamano, Mehara, Sori, Cepelata, Luarai, Missao, Tobaululuro, Irauno, Etepiti and Soikili Irralafai.

**Somotxa**

This camp consists of people from the suco of Buiro, Lospalos, and is 15kms from Lospalos on the road to Tutualu. **Tomas,** 31, deputy kampung head, was arrested on 26 November 1983 by Nanggala 4 troops, taken to kodim and severely beaten, burnt with cigarettes and given electric shocks on the genitals.

★ ★ ★

**Ira Lafai**

This concentration camp is near the Fui-loro Mission, east of Lospalos. **Acacio** and **Amancio Bernardhino,** 20 and 22, from Ira Lafai, the latter a third-grade student at the Lospalos secondary school, were arrested on 24 November. After being tortured with bayonets, lit cigarettes and electric shock they were both transferred to the Lospalos "prison of death".

★ ★ ★

**Raca**

Raca camp lies 12kms north of Lospalos, on the road to More. At the beginning of November, **Luis Silveiro,** 36, a member of the East Timor assembly, from Raca, was arrested as a suspect, and then taken to kodim in Lospalos. He was brutally tortured throughout November, then taken to Lospalos Prison No. 1, where he disappeared on 4 December.

★ ★ ★

**Sepelata**

This camp is 12kms east of Lospalos. A series of arrests occurred on 24, 26 and 27 November, 1983. All the victims were taken to kodim in Lospalos and severely tortured. They were: **Boaventura Santos,** 29, catechist, **Luis Pereira,** 25, **Aleixo Pereira,** 29, and **Armando,** 39, all from Sepelata. After being tortured, they were transferred to Lospalos Prison No. 1. After them came **Gilberto Soparatu,** 29, **Faustino,** 32, **Jose Figueiredo,** 42, also from Sepelata. Then **Cecilia Barreto,** 20, and **Claudinha,** 18, were tortured at kodim, raped repeatedly and forced to sleep all night naked.

**Muapitine**

The population in this region were hit by forced upheavals in mid-1982 and moved north to Fui-loro.[5] The former suco centre east of Lospalos has now been transformed into a concentration camp called Muaptine. Five men were arrested on 24 November as suspect Fretilin agents. After days of constant torture, they were all shot dead by firing squad in public. Everyone in Muapitine was ordered to watch the execution as a warning to others. The murdered men were: **Alberto,** 31, a deputy kampung head, native of Vailoro, **Lino,** 30, an RT from Penefeto, **Angelo da Costa,** 29, a jurituhs, from Muapitine, **Alvaro Freitas,** 30, ratih commander, and **Lionel Oliveira,** 36, also both of Muapitine.

★ ★ ★

**Moro**

This was the administrative *poste* of the county of Lautem in Portuguese times, and is situated on the north coast, due north of Lospalos.

The first recorded arrest was on 5 September, of **Nicolau Flores,** 34, a native of Kotxo and ratih commander in Home village. He was tortured, then shot dead a few days later by the kodim commander himself. On 10 December, **Celestina,** 56, a native of Punu, was summoned by koramil, beaten up and threatened with having an eye gouged out if he refused to denounce others. On 5 January, **Tiago Bandeira dos Dores,** 17, a ratih from Punu was arrested by koramil and punched so severely that he lost a great deal of blood. On 27 January, another ratih from Punu, **Alfredo Coutinho,** 36, was arrested by kodim, tortured with electricity, and then disappeared on 2 April. That was the day his wife who regularly delivered food for him was told he had been "sent to Jakarta for study".

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**Luro**

This too was an administrative *poste* in the county of Lautem. It lies inland, east of Lospalos, on the northern slopes of the Lequi-Mau mountain range. Luro was formerly the centre of a rice-growing area but food-shortage has become acute since the population was driven into the Luro camp. The town of Luro is now described as "one great big concentration camp".

A number of arrests occurred during March 1984 after a detachment of Nanggala 4 troops arrived. The victims were: **Duarte do Satos,** 37, a deputy raja, and **Valente dos Reis,**24, a policeman, both of Ouroma; **Doli Lay,** 26, a native of One Rada, and **Americo,** 42, from Alfoia. They were all beaten up with rifle-butts and kicked. Then came the turn of **Aco Ili,** 52, from Ama Hira, **Boukau,** 48, native of Alfai-Nami, and **Jose Lemos,** 43, of One Raba. **Domingos Ornai,** 43, catechist from Alfai, was arrested on 4 March, tortured, then taken to Dili on 20 April and disappeared.

Other victims of the same nanggala unit were **Mateus Sabino,** 43, formerly liurai of Ama Hira, now a member of the East Timor provincial council; **Duarte Miranda,** 48, of Iutu, a 'monitor' at the Luro primary school and now raja of Wai Roke. After their arrest, all these men were taken straight to Dili.

Others arrested by the same nanggala unit include **Antonio Ornai,** 49, of Iutu, **Rui Manuel,** 19, a ratih member, **Americo Branco,** 28, **Victor,** 26, **Kote Lai.,** 36, all from Ouroma; **Afonso dos Santos,** 50, and **Jorge Pinto,** 31, natives of Bua Nomon, Kota Mutu. After being tortured, they were taken away by helicopter on 20 March to an unknown destination. **Joao,** 28, native of Bua Nomon was so badly tortured that he died. His body was given

back to his family and he was buried at a funeral attended by the entire population of Bua Noraoi.

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## VIKEKE REGION

**Ossu**

This town lies on the road from Vikeke to Venilale in the north. Ossu has been a large concentration camp since 1979 after the forces of Fretilin virtually collapsed during the 1977-79 encirclement and annihilation campaign. On 9 May 1984, **Sabaloi,** 40, was arrested in the Nai (Uai?) Bobo camp, about 15kms from Ossu, by nanggala 2 troops. They were acting on the orders of kodim intelligence in Vikeke. He was taken to Vikeke and severely beaten up and maltreated – suspected of Fretilin sympathies.

* * *

**Naha-Reka**

This camp is about 12kms east of Ossu. On 13 June 1984, **Rai Loi,** 28, and **Eugenio da Silva,** 25, both ratih members and from Darei Nan, were arrested by nanggala 2 troops and taken to kodim in Vikeke where they were beaten up. On 25 July, the following people were arrested on the orders of Vikeke kodim intelligence: **Virgilio Duarte,** 29, neighbourhood head (RK) from Dara because one of his brothers rejoined the resistance on 8 August 1983. **Roro Labi,** 34, RT from Dare Nan, now living in Naha-Reka, who also has a brother who rejoined the resistance on 8 August; **Jeremias,** 45, and **Antonio da Silva,** 33, both natives of Dare Nan. Until the day of his arrest, Antonio da Silva was secretary of the Naha Reka administration.

## BAUCAU REGION

**Kelikai**

This camp lies south-east of Baucau and has been in existence since 1979. This was described by the Australian parliamentary mission to East Timor in July 1983, just before the Murdani offensive, as the poorest place they saw.[6] At the end of 1984, Kelikai is described as a zone of permanent hunger. There is no corn or other staple because of the poor climate and sweet potato production is meagre. Restrictions on movement are tight so the population cannot go far to forage for wild leaves; they survive mainly on papaya leaves and green papayas.

An RT named **Jose Goulart,** 28, formerly of Maluro in the district of Kelikai, was arrested on the order of kodim, Baucau. After his arrest on 8 November 1983, he was moved to an Indonesian island. On 13 June 1984, **Carlos Alves,** 29, a teacher, originally from Ossu but now living in the Lai Soru Lai camp, Kelikai was arrested by kodim, Baucau. He is now a prisoner at Rai-Mean, on the outskirts of Baucau.

* * *

**Uai-Lili**

This camp is situated 10kms south of Baucau on the road to Vikeke. In July 1984, kodim intelligence, Baucau, arrested the following people accused of being agents of Fretilin: **Martinho Marques,** 42, RT from Uai Mano Boe, **Juhao Freitas,** 28, and **Jorge Xavier,** 30, both from Uai-Lili.

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**Bere-Koli**

This camp is situated on the Baucau-Venilale road, about 2kms from Fatumaka College, and about 21kms from Baucau. Two men now at this camp, **Joao Cancio da Costa Belo,** 32, a native of Gari Uai, Baucau, and **Francisco do Rego,** 23, a native of Kai Hula, gave the following information:

They were subjected to constant persecution by 'intel' officers, and suspected of being Fretilin agents. Last July, they heard they were being sought by 'intel' and koramil so they decided to rejoin the resistance rather than fall into the hands of Indonesian torturers. Since the occupation forces forced the population into concentration camps in 1978 and 1979, people have been reduced to living like animals. Freedom of expression is a crime against the Pancasila. Camp dwellers are rarely allowed to venture beyond a 2km radius, and can only go out to tend small garden plots within 2kms of the camp boundary. Even for this they need permission which is often refused. Because of the desertions by armed Timorese to the resistance on 8 August, the population was prevented from going to their small garden plots. The result has been famine. Still worse, troops on their way to or from operations destroy the meagre crops growing in the gardens, claiming that they have to prevent guerrillas from taking the food.

Rape by soldiers is a daily occurrence. In February 1984, a soldier of Battalion 301 raped Labu Laku, a child of 12, in the Bere Koli concentration camp; the girl lost her balance of mind for two weeks. Anyone daring to protest about such atrocities is accused of being a Fretilin agent and is beaten up and tortured.

The two men decided to rejoin the resistance as the best way to fight the continued occupation of their country. They believe their families are being persecuted because they rejoined the resistance. Joao Cancio Belo also said that since going down from the mountains in November 1983, he was subjected to inhuman torture. On the day of his return he was badly beaten and given electric shocks. After 21 days of gruelling torture, when his body was covered with cigarette burns, he was ordered to strip naked and stay in a barrel of water for many hours. Later he had to go back into the barrel with his hands tied behind his back. He was given neither food nor clothing. After three days of this, he was taken to the locality of a Chinese school in Baucau where he was again interrogated, this time by native inhabitants. A few days later, he was given conditional release in Bere Koli, but has to report twice weekly to the forces of occupation.

**Bukoli**

This camp is 16kms west of Baucau, along the coastal road to Vemasse. Conditions for the population in the whole region west of Baucau from Seical to Gari Uai, and from Loilubo to Bukoli are heavily affected by restrictions on movement, making it very difficult for inhabitants to work in their vegetable gardens. In the latter part of 1984, there was no corn left and people were surviving on *mandioc,* with the possibility that things will further deteriorate.

In May 1984, 30 people in the Bukoli camp were arrested on the orders of kodim Baucau. All these people have since disappeared.

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**Saelari, Laga**

Xanana describes the prison in Saelari which lies some 20kms due east of Baucau as being quite the most horrific and barbaric prison in the eastern part of the country. There is a shortage of food in the whole region of Laga where the rice fields under cultivation are controlled by privileged families only. People in the villages of Samalai, Saelari, Sagadate and Atebri, along the Laga-Baguia road survive on breadfruit and a few vegetables from their gardens where crops have been meagre because villagers were not allowed to plant during the 1984 season.

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**Atauro**

According to a letter from Fretilin to Mgr Martinhu da Costa Lopes, former Bishop of Dili, at the beginning of January this year 1,236 prisoners were still being held in Atauro. They come from Vikeke, Lospalos, Same and Manatuto. Just before the Papal Nuncio visited East Timor in October last year, 600 political prisoners in Atauro from the district of Ainaro were hastily moved away from Atauro to the district of Zumalai, and

were forced to leave behind all their hard-earned possessions. Prisoners relocated from Atauro have subsequently been relocated, each time having to leave things behind, or abandon crops they have been able to grow. Atauro prisoners relocated to Cailaco in 1982 are suffering from hunger because their crops were destroyed by rats. At least on Atauro, Fretilin writes, they were getting supplies from the International Red Cross mission. Fretilin concludes that the relocation of prisoners from Atauro is designed to kill the prisoners off.

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**References**

1. See Budiardjo and Liem, *The War Against East Timor*, Zed Books, London, 1984, page 94.
2. *nanggalas* the word used in Timor for paracommandos (Kopassandha). The Timorese regard them as being particularly vicious.
3. ibid, page 94.
4. ibid, page 93.
5. ibid, page 94.
6. ibid, page 89.


IV

# Indonesia's concentration camps

*During an interview with Mark Aarons of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, the leader of Fretilin, gave the following description of the concentration camps or strategic villages where most East Timorese now live:*

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A concentration camp is a concentration of people living in houses or huts in a restricted area. The inhabitants are only allowed to move round freely within the camp, and only during daytime. The camps are usually built along the roads; there are none in the towns.

Collaborators, members of **hansip** (civil guard) and traditional leaders live in houses with galvanised iron roofs while the Maubere (Timorese) people live in huts made of grass or palm leaves in the central part of the camp. Some of the iron-roof houses are inhabited by Indonesian army officers and police, and by **nanggala** butchers (para-commandos). Behind the houses and huts are gardens. Before August 1983, gardens were situated up to a thousand or fifteen hundred metres from the camps. Today they go only up to 500 metres away and in some zones, no more than 300 metres.

There are control posts for night-watch every 50 metres round the camps; at the ends of the vegetable gardens, there are special control posts for day-watch. Every evening at 5 pm, all the available men must go to the control posts and surrounding areas to guard the camps. If all the men are in jail or have been forced to go on operations with the enemy, the women have to go instead. The purpose of the day-watch is to make sure that people working in the gardens stay inside the restricted areas. During night-watch from 5 pm till 6 am, tins, drums or bamboo sticks are banged every hour to keep the people on duty from falling asleep.

During periods of tension, people are not allowed to move about, even to go to their vegetable gardens; these restrictions can last for a month or more. They must attend roll-call every morning and evening. The houses are frequently searched at night. During normal times, people can, on the slightest pretext, be refused permission to travel anywhere outside their camp and sometimes can't even go to their gardens. Sometimes, people are ordered to harvest crops before they are ripe because a new period of 'rigorous prevention' is about to begin. Everyone travelling from one camp or village to another must have a **surat jalan** (travel pass). Sometimes people not in possession of a pass are beaten up or killed if discovered climbing over the fences surrounding the vegetable gardens to gather fire-wood.

Many have been refused permission to leave their village, and in certain periods, all permits to visit Dili are suspended. At other times, only two or three may leave but not till they have explained why they are going and who they will be working for.

When hunger is particularly severe, villagers are allowed to go to the bush once every 15 days with a 'group pass'. These groups include collaborators and they are under escort of territorial troops.

There are control posts at the entrance to every village, with **nanggala** troops on duty. They search everyone entering or leaving - men, women and children. Soldiers also keep watch over the shops and ask people; Why did you buy this? Why do you need this amount? Who is it for?


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